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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the relationship between ethnolinguistic maintenance and regional economic development in the context of the regional planning policies of the minority language Gaeltacht areas. The Gaeltacht areas, where the Irish language (Gaeliz) is predominant over English, are primarily found in the extreme western portions of Northern and Southern Ireland and the southern part of Southern Ireland. The current language situation in the Gaeltacht and the roles of language planning policies, government economic policies and planning, industrial development, and educational policy are outlined and examined. It is concluded that substantial improvements in the area's economic future must be tempered by only modest expectations of language survival, despite recent efforts to remedy some policy weaknesses and encourage language maintenance. Greater emphasis in geolinguistic research on the roles of the state, the community, and the individual and his linguistic expectations and rights is recommended. (MSE)

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LANGUAGE PLANNING, MARGINALITY AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE IRISH GAELTACHT

Colin H Williams

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Language Planning, Marginality and Regional Development in the Gaeltacht

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LANGUAGE PLANNING MARGINALITY AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE IRISH GAELTACHT

The central question I want to address is the relationship between ethnolinguistic maintenance and regional economic development. The literature on regional development is characterized by an almost total disregard for the multiethnic basis of the population in most West European states. As a consequence, linguistic and cultural considerations are hardly ever made explicit in regional or local planning proposals, even though they may on occasion entail drastic consequences for the maintenance of minority language communities. The theme of this chapter is that minority language communities are a special type of 'consumer', for whom traditional planning priorities and practices are inadequate, and often totally inappropriate, both in terms of policy formulation and regional planning implementation.[1]

It is generally accepted that modernization imposes severe structural strains upon minority cultural groups, especially when such modernization processes are spatially uneven and are accompanied by challenges to the social organisation and ideology of peripheral collectivities.[2] One assumption which characterized developmental theories of the late sixties was that modernization almost inevitably meant cultural absorbtion for peripheral minorities. Within the marginal regions of West European states it was asserted that this transformation from "tradition" to "modernity", because it took place in a relatively short span, produced social and economic ruptures, which could only be ameliorated by the closer integration of the periphery into the

national economic space, thereby facilitating the diffusion of state-wide benefits into the periphery.[3]

One outcome of these societal ruptures has been a consistent questioning of the power structure in West European states by dissident political movements.[4] Many of these movements base their appeal in part on the failure of the unitary state's planning programmes to improve the socio-economic condition of their constituents in the periphery. Regionalist, autonomist and ethnic separatist movements have flourished of late in the advanced industrial societies of Europe.[5] Many nationalist leaders cite their incorporation into an 'alien' state as the essence of their multifarious problems and assert that until political independence is secured their future will inevitably be that of a dependent group in an under-developed territory.[6] The logic of this perspective is that economic marginality is a function of political subordination and can only be changed through increased political autonomy.[7]

I want to examine certain regional planning policies which seek to reduce the element of inevitability portrayed in the above scenario by concentrating on the Irish experience of language resuscitation. Conventionally the Gaeltacht is analysed alongside other European minority areas as a 'classic' problem region of the periphery. A number of common elements characterise such problem regions, for example, they are in the main, culturally unique; marginally located vis à vis the centres of trade and political authority within the European Economic Community; predominantly agrarian based economies; often characterised by a regional autonomist movement, ranging in style from constitutional parties, as in Wales, to semi-constitutional movements, as in Catalonia and Flanders, to extra-constitutional movements as in Corsica and Euskadi. Most of these ethnic minorities pin their grievances squarely on the door of the government whom they claim represents the interests of the dominant class/ethnic group, and to whom they are often subordinated in a form of patron-client relationship within the multi-ethnic state. Clearly lack of power, resources and influence, hinder the development of ethno-linguistic minorities, such as the Welsh, Basques, Catalans, Bretons and Galicians qua language groups.

However, what happens when a minority group shares the spatial and economic marginality outlined above, but is incorporated within its own independent and sovereign state? Clearly other national minorities cite lack of political freedom as the main structural barrier to group development. In the Irish case the interesting question is, can independent states deal more effectively with the problem of regional culture maintenance in advanced industrial societies?

It is a truism in cultural affairs that political independence does not guarantee minority language survival, it merely allows the choice of development priorities to be determined primarily within rather than outside the value system of the host group. We acknowledge that many other factors impinge on the situation,[8] for example, the international geo-political location of Ireland and its role in the conflict of faiths, trade and power which have characterised the North Atlantic triangle. Other, more pressing factors would include the historic legacy of the former ruler (i.e., British influence in Ireland), the general Western processes of industrialization and urbanization, group self-esteem, the economic resources available to the newly independent polity, the 'universality' of the former dominant language (in this case a world language, English), migration patterns, and the opportunity for upward social advancement within the speech community of the minority group.[9] In this context, the application of regional planning theory often threatens the cultural integrity of minority communities by creating patterns of social and spatial mobility that endanger further the linguistic balance. This appears to be the central dilemma. How can a sympathetic government achieve both economic advancement and linguistic preservation in a marginal and peripheral region?

Language Planning

The Gaelic basis to Irish nationhood, drawing on the revolt of Hugh O'Neil, and the long established separateness of Gaelic culture, was an important factor in national consciousness.

Damid O'Neil has argued that the Irish language was important in the cultural revitalisation of Ireland at about the turn of the century because "it reinforced the belief that there was an ancient Irish culture with a non-Anglo-Saxon base. It encouraged the belief that this culture was developed and significant. It contributed a camaradarie to those involved in the lingual effort, many of whom would move into the separatist cause".[10] This is a common role for language to fulfil in nationalist movements and the Irish case replicates that of Hungary, Finland, Wales, Euskadi and Norway.

But the language issue per se was not as central in Ireland's struggle with Britain as one might have imagined. Ireland's quest for identity was based on a wider cultural platform of Catholic Irish identification, even though for long periods, paradoxically, it was the Protestant Ascendancy which animated the nationalist drive most forcibly. And yet, on achieving independence in 1921 the government committed itself to the legitimization of Gaelic and to a concern with language revival, primarily in the Gaeltacht, but alsomore generally throughout the young state. Initially language reforms were confined to education and government agencies, but in recent years, as we shall see, successive governments have adopted more comprehensive language planning policies.

In order to understand the relation between interests, problems, linguistic work and development, Weinstein has suggested that there are ten stages in the ideal language-planning process which take into account both linguistic and nonlinguistic factors. It is not suggested that each of these has been followed in the Irish

context, although many have in the course of the years. They are:

1. Coalescence of language "ideology" or attitudes
2. Perception of communication inadequacy
3. Nongovernmental correction
4. Governmental decision-making
5. Creation of a bureaucracy to carry out policy choices
6. Implementation or "planning" in the narrow sense
7. Acceptance or rejection by the language users
8. Evaluation methods applied by the bureaucracy: determination of whether or not inadequacy has been corrected
9. Continuation of implementation or cessation: reports back to government
10. Government maintenance or change of policy

Weinstein argues in his book, The Civic Tongue, (Chapter Three) that the firststage in government participation in language decision making is that of altering the status of a language by its promotion as a language of state affairs. Thus the development of a billingual school system, the specification that University entrants or government employees need to speak certain languages, or to demonstrate bilingual capabilities is evidence of 'status planning.' If then a government should decide that in order to serve a specific function in the future, a language must be developed by specialists, this is evidence of 'corpus planning.' Such planning argues Weinstein, usually concentrates on development, that is reduction of a language to writing (graphization), modernization, or expanding the stock of words and styles; and standardization, or choosing and maintaining a norm. Others have

criticized this distinction between 'status' and 'corpus' planning arguing that as language is a seamless webb, such distinctions in its planned functions are artificial.

In its initial post-independence period the Irish state made great advances both in status and corpus planning for Gaelic. It institutionalised the language in the state bureaucracy and guaranteed the individual's right to exercise a language choice in his/her dealings with State agencies. The fact that in reality individual language behaviour did not always conform with the public rhetoric of government did not dissuade activists, but rather strengthened further official promptings to encourage Gaelic as a medium of communication throughout the land.[12]

Despite its concern with language planning per se the government was faced with markedly different problems when it sought to switch attention from individual status planning to regional-community planning for the Gaeltacht. Language legislation alone would not prove effective in redressing the primarily socio-economic grievances of the 'problem region.' A more comprehensive set of planning agencies was needed, agencies which could address three basic but profoundly significant questions posed by O'Riagain.

i. What is the current linguistic situation and how is it changing?

2. What social, economic and spatial variables are causing change?

3. Which of these variables can be influenced by regional planning policies?[13]

Conscious that it could ameliorate the Gaeltacht's problems the Irish state sought to achieve both language preservation and economic development through the regional planning process. Initially, its aims were applauded by other cultural minorities, especially by fellow Celts. Subsequently, severe doubts were raised as to the efficacy of government action, as we shall see below.

The Gaeltacht

Despite the foundation of the Irish state in 1921, the Gaeltacht areas have been declining both in terms of population and territory (table 1). The demographic decline, only recently arrested, has caused particular concern for policy-formulation, as it threatens to undermine attempts at regional stability prior to development. The official Irish-speaking area is fragmented, peripheral and weak, constituting 1/60th of the total population in 1971, comprising some 71,000 inhabitants scattered in the hamlets and small market centres of the extreme west of Ireland. Since 1911 the number residing in these areas had dropped by 50%, while the population of the Irish State is generally showing a slight increase over its 1911 level. Nationally, some 72.6% have indicated recently that they are non-Irish-speakers, but as we shall see below, the definition of Irish-speaking and the distribution of self-defined Irish-speakers cause problems for both census enumerators and those planners would would seek to build a language criterion

TABLE 1. Knowledge of Irish as Reported at Censuses, 1851-1911

Year	Population	Total able to speak Irish		Persons able to speak Irish only	
		Number	%	Number	%
1851	5,111,557	1,485,050	29.1	318,998	6.2
1861	4,402,111	1,077,087	24.5	162,764	3.7
1871	4,053,187	804,547	19.8	103,320	2.5
1881	3,870,020	924,781	23.9	64,075	1.7
1891	3,468,694	664,387	19.2	38,178	1.1
1901	3,221,823	619,710	19.2	20,945	0.7
1911	3,139,688	553,717	17.6	16,869	0.5

Source: Calculated from Census of Ireland, 1851...., 1911 reproduced with permission from J. Coakley. "Self-government for Gaelic Ireland", Europa Ethnica, vol. 37, 3 (1980), pp.114-2

Note: All figures refer to the present territory of the Republic of Ireland.

into their regional policies.

At the beginning of the present century (1901) some 641,000 were recorded as being able to speak Irish in the island of Ireland. The total population at this time was 4,459,000 of whom some 3,309,000 were identified as Catholic and 1,150,000 as Protestant. Thus from pre-Independence days the situation of the Irish-speakers could be described as tenuous. But of the 641,000 able to speak Irish, 619,710 were living in the territory of the present Republic, andof these only c.150,000 were living in communities where Irish was the normal language of every-day life.[14] Irish was confined, almost exclusively to rural communities, and to craft occupations, small scale farmers and to fishermen of the western coastal districts. Its status in socio-linguistic terms was very low and as a consequence of its weakness in terms of individual social advancement within the British empire, it was not likely to be demanded as a prerequisite for employment within the larger Irish or British society. Its relevance in these times seemed determined more by political rather than by social considerations, for the independence movement used language as a key marker of group identity, and after the 1921 settlement, Irish became the first official language. Consequently, it became an obligatory subject in primary schools and for entrance into four of the Republic's five universities. State-wide education policy has resulted in a gradual revival of the language, such that by 1971 some 789,429 claimed to be Irish-speaking. And yet there remained a remarkable paradox in Irish national life, the numbers claiming to possess a knowledge of the national language

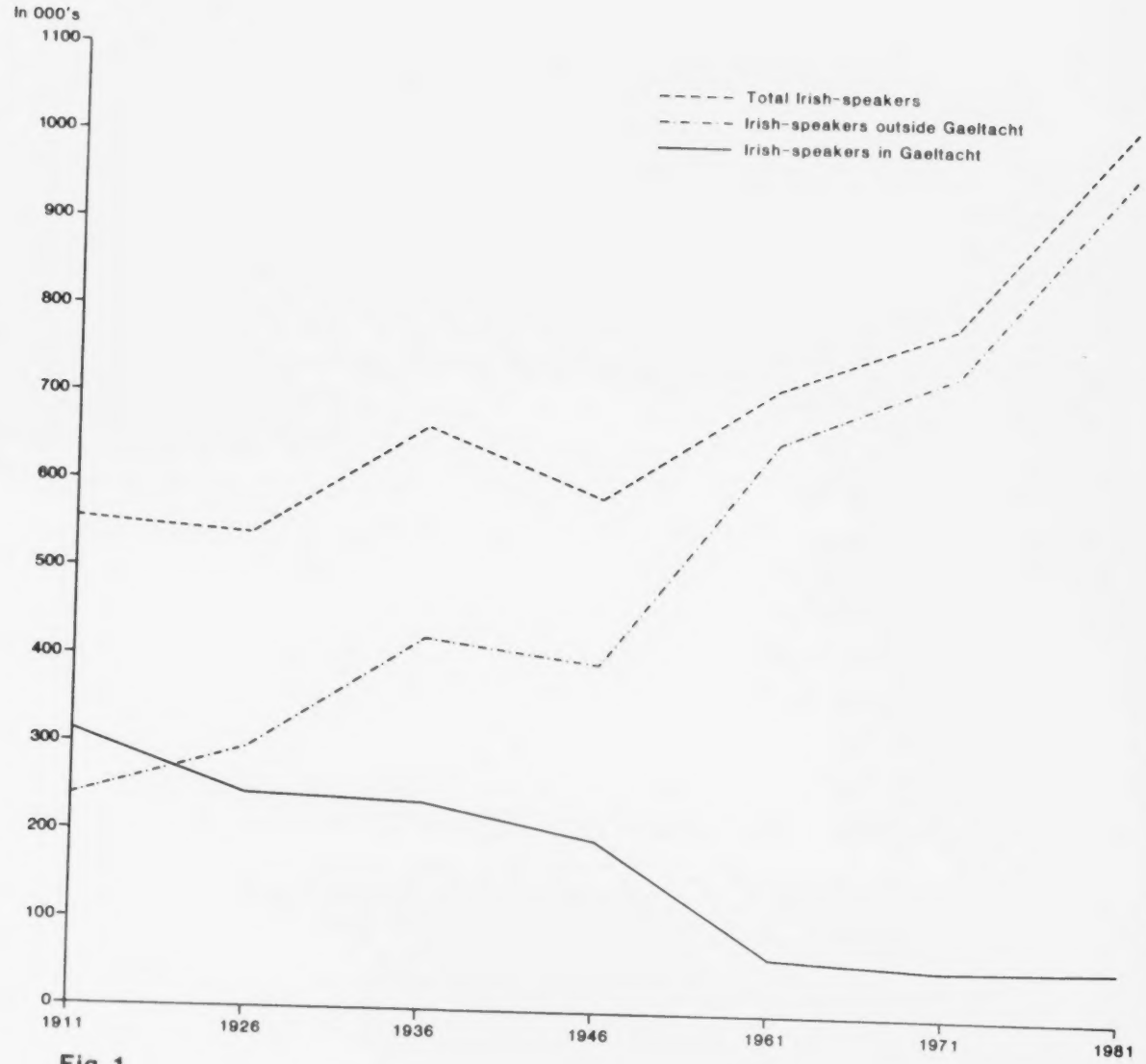
TABLE 2. KNOWLEDGE AND ESTIMATED USAGE OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE 1911 - 1981

Year	Total Population	Gaeltacht Population	Irish-speakers in Gaeltacht Number	%	Irish-speakers outside Gaeltacht Number	%	Total Irish-speakers Number	%
1911	3,139,688	530,320	313,508	10.0	240,209	7.7	553,717	17.6
		(189,555)	(149,677)	(4.8)	(404,040)	(12.9)		
1926	2,971,992	476,186	246,811	8.8	296,700	10.6	540,802	19.3
		(168,279)	(130,)74)	(4.6)	(413,437)	(14.8		
1936	2,968,420	426,685	238,338	8.5	428,263	15.3	666,601	23.7
		(148,179)	(123,125)	(4.4)	(543,476)	(19.4)		
1946	2,955,107	398,202	192,963	7.0	395,762	14.3	588,725	21.2
		(137,193)	(104,941)	(3.8)	(483,784	(17.5)		
1961	2,818,341	74,261	64,275	2.4	652,145	24.7	716,420	27.2
1971	2,978,248	66,840	55,440	2.0	733,989	26.3	789,429	28.3
1981	3,226,467	75,000	58,026		960,286		1,018,312	31.6

Source: Derived from Census of Ireland, 1926..., 1971. Reproduced with permission from J. Coakley: "Self-government for Gaelic Ireland" Europa Ethnica, vol. 37,3 (1980), pp.114-24, Census of Ireland, 1981; table 7, page 12.

Note: The Gaeltacht refers to the territory so defined in 1925, as altered in 1956. The 1971 figures include the Meath Gaeltacht colonies (population 858). From 1925 to 1956 a second more rigorous and more realistic definition of the Fior-Gaeltacht (truly Irish-speaking area) was also in existence, and the figures in brackets above refer to this territory.

All percentages refer to Irish-speakers aged three and over as a percentage of the total population aged three and over, apart from those for 1911 which refer to the whole population. The number of Irish-speakers in the Gaeltacht is a crude indictor of language usage.


In 000's
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1000
900
800
700
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500
400
300
200
100
0
1911
1926
1936
1946
1961
1971
1981
Total Irish-speakers
Irish-speakers outside Gaeltacht
Irish-speakers in Gaeltacht

Fig 1

was increasing at the same that that the functional usage of that language was decreasing.

The reality, of course, is that the strong constitutional and legal position of the Irish language and its prominent place in the rhetoric of political parties gives a misleading picture of its strength. This is shown in table 2, which reports the number of people with a knowledge of Irish and gives an estimate of actual usage since 1911. Because the census of Ireland, like that of Scotland and Wales, has traditionally questioned ability rather than actual usage of language, the census results have to be interpreted carefully.[15] Mapped distribution of language ability rather than language usage convey a distorted pattern of the ubiquity of Irish speech in certain areas.[16] The data (table 1) appears to indicate a gradual decline from 29 per cent in 1851 to a low of 18 per cent in 1911, followed by an equally gradual revival. However, as Coakley observes, the 28 per cent returned as Irish speakers in 1971 were a radically different group from the 29 per cent returned 120 years earlier.

> The former were mainly native English-speakers who had acquired some knowledge of Irish at school; the latter were predominantly native Irish-speakers who had learned English at school or as a consequence of life in an environment where most transactions took place through the medium of English. Furthermore, knowledge of Irish is subjectively assessed, and many people who

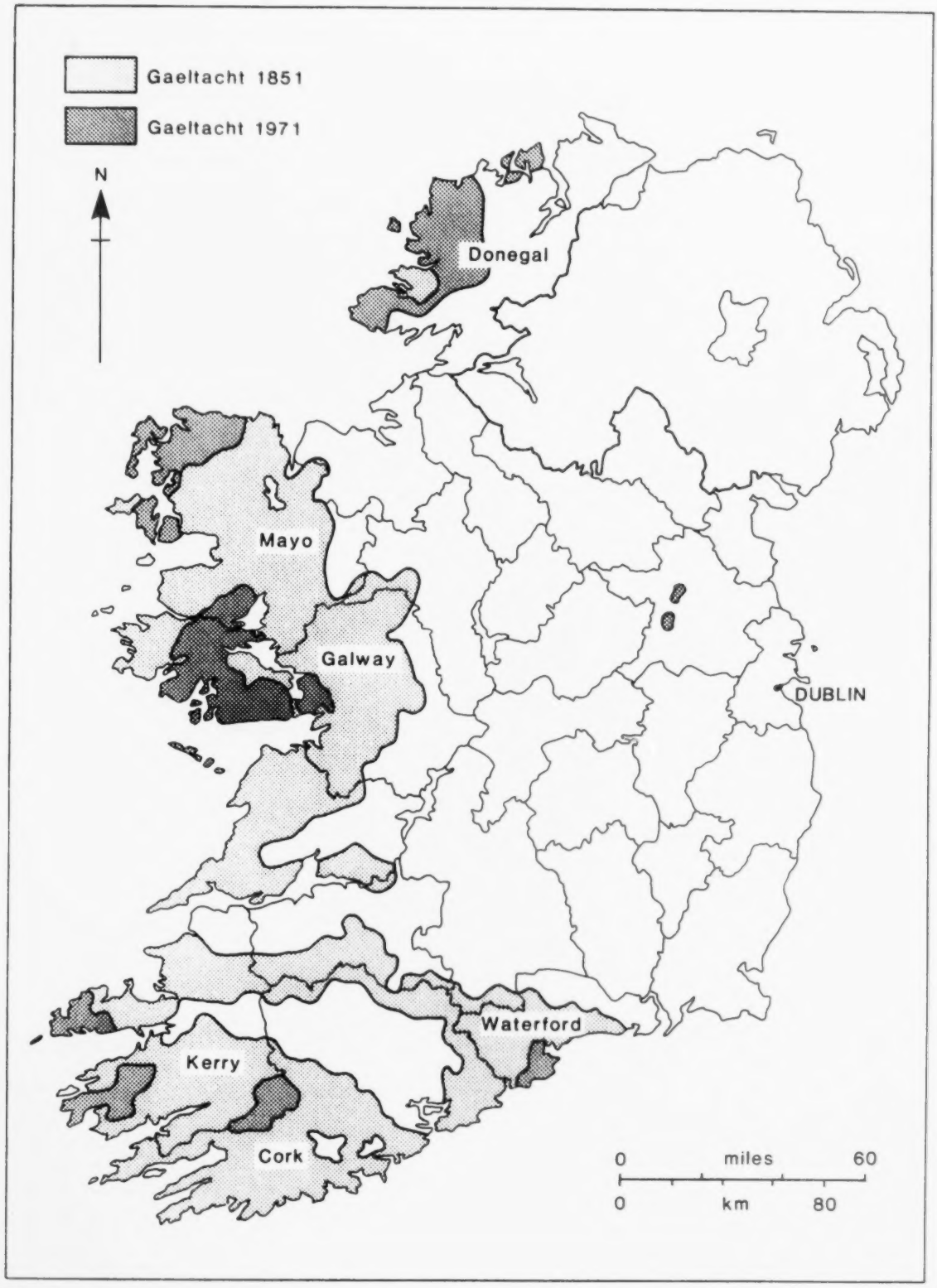
Gaeltacht 1851
Gaeltacht 1971
N
Donegal
Mayo
Galway
DUBLIN
Waterford
Kerry
Cork
0
miles
60
0
km
80

Fig 2

Table 3. Total Population, by language and age, in designated Gaeltacht areas.

	Total 3+	3-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
TOTAL GAELTACHT AREAS	75,000	2,966	7,699	7,777	6,632	5,081	9,819	7,600	6,719	7,736	12,971
Irish Speakers	58,026	1,566	5,642	6,485	5,531	3,960	7,259	5,717	5,365	6,284	10,217
Non-Irish Speakers	16,974	1,400	2,057	1,292	1,101	1,121	2,560	1,883	1,354	1,452	2,754
Irish Speakers as a percentage of total %	77.4	52.8	73.3	83.4	83.4	77.9	73.9	75.2	79.8	81.2	78.8

Source: Census of Ireland, 1981, table 9, page 14.

> return themselves as Irish-speaking on consus forms may be expressing a strong emotional attachment to the language rather than claiming that they possess a reasonable degree of fluency in Irish.[17]

Similarly, there is a discrepancy between the areas officially designated as Gaeltacht, and the actual or real Gaeltacht. Thus in 1971, the census declared the population of the official Gaeltacht to be 66,840, of whom some 55,440 were Irish speakers. In 1975-76 Desmond Fennel undertook a survey of this area and found the really Irish-speaking parts - the 'real Gaeltacht' - had a population of only 29,000, while the other 42,000 people lived in districts where the everyday language was English.[18] The 29,000 people just referred to were located in three main districts: Gaothdobhair - Western Donegal, Iarchonnacht, South Connemara, Aran Islands and Galway district, Corca Dhuibhne - Western Kerry.

Government Planning Policy

The Gaeltacht breeds paradoxes. A critical one facing any government charged with the responsibility of simultaneous economic development and cultural maintenance has been described by Edwards in the following manner:

> the Gaeltacht is vital to the language since it provides the only sizeable groups of Irish speakers. At the same time, it is constantly being encroached upon by modern influences of all kinds... If nothing is done, the Gaeltacht will continue to shrink if things ARE done there is the very real danger of

> creating an enclave which is seen, by those inside as well as by those without, as essentially artifical - an area not allowed to follow larger social and economic currents[19]

Government economic policy has been consistently orientated towards a reduction of out-migration from the Gaeltacht, and has attempted a series of job-creation programmes to offset unemployment. Each of the Government agencies, as we shall see, has a specific brief to take into consideration the effects its policies might have on the preservation of Irish, but in general it is fair to say that the language policy has been mainly formulated in regional planning terms in accordance with the old maxim: "No jobs, no people; no people, no Gaeltacht."

The equating of employment and population stability with language and culture stability is not without its difficulties. For example, we need to know for whom are jobs created? Where are the jobs to be created? Are they to be concentrated in key growth centres or dispersed throughout the region? What changes will the development programme induce in language patterns? What type of employment and industry will be attracted to marginal industrial sites? Are they to be long-term, feasible projects? Above all we must ask are the initial capital costs involved in preparing industrial sites, in providing a modern infra-structure and subsidized housing, an economic cost which cultural considerations can afford to sustain?

Clearly the Irish government was faced with making difficult economic andpolitical decisions in order to honour its long standing commitment to the national tongue. It sought to tackle the problem primarily through the development of rural industries.

Industrial Development in the Gaeltacht

The principal instrument of government policy was Gaeltarra Eireann, a state sponsored body established under the Gaeltacht Industries Acts of 1957-1975. Formed in 1958, it was charged "to make further and better provision for the organisation, conduct and development of the rural industries", which were then being administered by the Department of Gaeltacht. Gaeltarra was given the additional objective of actively encouraging the use of Irish within the Gaeltacht as well as being the principal governmental instrument for economic development.

In the initial period, 1958-1966, a number of problems faced the Board of Gaeltarra, chief of which was that the Gaeltacht was an unattractive location for private enterprise industrial development. This was because fragmentation reduced any possibility of scale advantages and economic viability, and the isolated pockets of population reduced the potential for a varied and skilled labour force. Even with protected home markets, all the rural industries that were taken over by the Board since 1958 had lost money consistently, many of which had closed, leaving the Gaeltacht with some of the highest unemployment and emigration rates in the Irish Republic. Underlying all this was that in terms of natural resources it was amongst the poorest of West European regions, with little possibility of self-sustained growth.[20]

In essence the Board was admitting its paralysis in the face of overwhelming odds stemming from the Gaeltacht's dependency situation. It was a situation shared by other West European peripheries, but intensified in the Gaeltacht because the rest of the Irish economy was not performing as well as most of its competitors. There emerged a form of associated- dependent development. Cooke has outlined the theoretical pre-conditions of dependent development.[21] His analysis, when applied to Ireland, would suggest that capital movements to dependent economies, as envisaged by Gaeltarra, are stimulated by the abundant supply of cheap labour and the "capacity of international corporations for organising manufacturing to maximise profits by framing a new international division of labour" the stresses that the domestic variations in the availability of associated supply factors, "such as financial and infra-structural incentives, guaranteed labour force quiescance, relaxation of business regulations, and local private and state financial participation in new ventures, condition the direction and intensity of foreign investment" (p.213). In turn these variations are contingent on the vagaries of local and national class relations and on the conflict of interests which operate in all dependent economies.

Typically the industrialisation of dependent economies produces a new social stratification system.[22] In ideal terms this is comprised of a professional sector divided into a private 'clientele' segment, and a large state bureaucracy geared to directing regional development policy and extending state agencies to the local populus. The non-professional labour-force, according to Cooke's analysis, is divided into a "relatively well-paid manufacturing segment, a less well-paid agrarian and mining segment, and a sub-employed or

marginalised residual segment" (p.213). The Gaeltacht was characterised by the emergence of an ideal type form of development described by Cooke as a "components outpost" location; that is a region where "valuable skills and/or relatively sophisticated technology are cheaply available and where local consumption is negligible but products are exported for assembly within industrial platforms or larger markets".[23] The Gaeltacht experienced a history of ephemeral indigenous and foreign capital investment which had, by the early sixties, failed to usher in the required economic transformation. Consequently, the government initiated a range of radical policy measures to invigorate industrial life in the region.

Radical Policies

Given the locational disadvantages of the Gaeltacht and the chronic underinvestment in the region's infra-structure it was evident by 1966 that my philosophy of economic development and cultural maintenance had to deal with the central problem of continuous out-migration in search of employment. In assessing thepredicament, MacGabhann argues that a number of factors influenced the government's thinking: chief of which were the need to invest heavily in the existing labour-intensive and loss-making spinning, weaving, knitting, plastics and toy-making operations.[24] New plant and machinery, new management methods, new products and new techniques were all required, and these were to be provided within the constraints imposed by a democratic society on state-owned industry, by regional competition elsewhere in Ireland, and above all by the needs of the language.[25]

In response to these perceived needs the powers and role of Gaeltarra were considerably extended in 1966 such that it became

a partner in a number of service industries, for example, a computer bureau, hotels and tourist developments, horticultural and agricultural activities and fish-farming projects.[26] The radical advocacy policy transformed Gaeltarra's role such that its industrial concerns now were often in direct competition with private enterprise, whereas in the past national specialist public agencies had normally only had a promotional or consultative role.

By concentrating on employment creation through industrial development the Gaeltarra was criticised for not guaranteeing that the very processes it sought to encourage would not prove detrimental to the linguistic vitality of the region. If modernisation, critics argued, was the root cause of depopulation and cultural erosion in the marginal districts, then it was the utmost folly to hasten such decline through introducing new agents of modernisation.

Gaeltarra's defence rested on eight criteria which sought to safeguard their cultural objectives. MacGabhann, a former chief executive of Gaeltarra, outlined their strategy to offset the deleterious effects of modernisation, as follows:[27] their efforts were 1) concentrated initially on areas where the language was strongest (i.e. not necessarily the most-favoured economic locations within the Gaeltacht); 2) they emphasised employment for Irish-speakers (thus arousing fears of cultural apartheid and reverse discrimination); 3) they worked for the most part

through the medium of Irish (e.g. Board meetings, office work and documentation); 4) they endeavoured, where possible, to work with other state agencies in Irish; 5) they developed a management development programme for Irish speakers; 6) they gave maximum assistance to projects being established by Irish speakers; 7) they gave preferential treatment to Gaeltacht co-operatives; 8) they re-located their Head Office in the Gaeltacht rather than in Dublin. These were important psychological as well as practical boosts to the regular use of Irish in the affairs of the local state, but how effective were they in serving the needs of the Gaeltacht's population?

The initial period of the new policy, 1967-70, was devoted to a rationalisation of existing industrial commitments (plastics, toy making, spinning, weaving and knitting) by putting them on a proper footing before proceeding with a job-creation programme. From 1970 onwards, MacGabhann argues that policy was orientated towards job creation and the resturcturing of the regional economy through direct investment of the Board's capital in its associated companies. The results of direct investment and advocacy planning may be demonstrated through the sharp increase in the turnover of the Board's enterprises. In 1967 Gaeltarra had five trading divisions with an annual turnover of £8,000,000. By 1978 Gaeltarra was involved with 50 companies with a turnover of £24,000,000. Similarily employment in Gaeltarra assisted projects rose from 680 in 1967 to c. 4,211 in 1978.[28] Many of the associated companies are American or European in origin, often drawing on their own company personnel and industrial patterns of behaviour. Other things being equal (which they never are) the Board recommends that positions should be filled by Irish speakers, and an attempt has

been made to train local managers. To date, it is a moot point as to whether most activities financed by Gaeltarra capital, actually use Irish as the working language of daily industrial life.

In a review of its progress up to 1978 the Board recognised that a piece-meal approach to regional development was unlikely to bring about economic recovery thus permitting population stability. With a view to wresting more independent decision-making authority it pressed on the government the complexity of the task it faced. MacGabhan lists the several problems as follows:-
1) the Board recognised that there was a need to offer higher incentives to attract industry to unprofitable locations, and to restructure the incentive scheme;[29] 2) the economic recession and increased unemployment levels had resulted in the Industrial Development Authority being empowered to invest capital in joint ventures anywhere in Ireland. This led, in MacGabhan's view , to the elimination of the only specific policy advantage enjoyed by Gaeltarra, and severely weakened its original strategy of offsetting locational disadvantages by financial compensation; 3) the infra-structure remained chronically inadequate; 4) there was little tradition of local enterprise or initiative in the region;
5) the poor public image of the whole scheme.[30] These problems were compounded by the various conflict of interests identified by MacGabhan as a three way split between a business strategy which dictated profits and expansion, a government need for increased employment and the original goal of language preservation and cultural group development.

Language activists, unimpressed by government promises for the region, claimed that increased commercial activity and industrial penetration would result in increased exposure to outside influences, and would accelerate the effect of deleterious anglicizing processes. Regional planners could claim, with much justification, that compared with the situation some thirty years ago, the Gaeltacht was now prospering.[31] But in the last remaining Gaeltacht districts the language is changing inexorably to English leading Fennell to ask can the Gaeltacht be saved?[32] For the successful economic development - in the sense of raising living standards and halting overseas emigration - has not stemmed the process of language shift. To cultural activists the picture is bad enough, but the problem of marginality is now compounded by evidence which suggests that the economic base of the recent prosperity is fragmented and incapable of self-sustained development.[33]

A survey commissioned for the Irish Business journal concluded that the Údarás na Gaeltachta attracted weak and short-term companies, and that the vast majority of the 68 companies in which it held an equity statke at the year ending December 1979, were weak even at the drawing board stage.[34] Why does the Údarás seem to attract loss-making ventures? The survey points to the original laws governing Údarás involvement in new industries. In 1967, if the Údarás grant exceeded £10,000 it was compelled to takc a share holding of not less than 26% in the company.[35] The survey argues that for those companies unable to secure outside finance this equity involvement became in effect a non-repayable loan. When a company faced difficulties, as many of the sixty eight did - the Údarás, rather than close them, injected more capital which bought more of the company until eventually it owned 100% of a bad loss-making

concern. The Údarás's own rulings, it concludes, made it into an organisation providing venture capital to projects which were totally unsuited to remote Gaeltacht areas.[36]

A more sympathetic analysis of the work of Údarás argues that though the Údarás strategy of employment creation is often expensive it does nevertheless produce "worthwhile investments both from an exchequer and economic viewpoint".[38] A detailed analysis of the Donegal Gaeltacht revealed that the new employment opportunities had contributed to population stability and a reversal of the historical pattern of population loss. But an additional feature of note was the conclusion that the Údarás projects were 'socially profitable', in that communities were strengthened by the injection of new employment and its consequent spill over effect in wage expenditure and local resources and skill development. However, we should not ignore the fact that some of the problems raised above in relation to Gaeltacht firm closures were common to all firms in Ireland. The last decade was dominated by a recession, by rising labour costs, and as O'Farrell and Crouchley have demonstrated many of the traditional company acitvities, such as knitting, spinning, weaving, clothing etc were vulnerable to labour cost competition elsewhere in the international system.[39] Prospects for future industrial growth in Ireland generally, according to O'Farrell and Crouchley, lie either in import substitution by supplying components for multi-national enterprises, or by "firms currently serving only a regional or the national market exporting to the U.K., the rest of the E.E.C. or beyond".[40] Small scale industrial activity represents a fairly buoyant pattern, but its effect in employment creation must remain limited. The chief problem facing Údarás now seems to be to consolidate its earlier work and to nurture the relatively small number of profitable concerns in which it holds a substantial interest.

Profitability in economic concerns is difficult enough in this marginal periphery of Europe, and yet there remains the nagging language dimension, the initiator of regional planning proposals for the Gaeltacht.

Language Considerations

Clearly government policy has met with only limited success in the economic sphere. In linguistic terms some language experts have predicted the imminent collapse of the Gaeltacht. Why, despite government commitment, wasn't the Gaeltacht saved? Given the complexity of the situation our attention will focus only the most salient aspects of the decline. Fennell emphatically argues that the reason why the State's effort failed was that successive governments assumed that the State bureaucracy, the semi-state companies, and particularly Gaeltarra Eireann,[41] could stop the Gaeltacht shrinking.[42] Echoing the self-confidence of positive regional and social planning at that time the Government gave the task to these planning agencies. But, Fennell argues, this assumption was misplaced as is clearly seen if we return to political basics and ask a simple question, whose profundity has implications for all other minority ethno-linguistic communities. "If there is a territory in which a particular language is usually spoken, and it is contracting continually through language change on the fringes, who can stop this contraction?"[43] Fennell answers that only the people of the territory - by deciding to do so and take the appropriate measures. He argues that the government failed to perceive this fundamental premise and made no serious attempt to persuade the people of the Gaeltacht to decide to end the erosion.[44] For example, it did not establish a regional assembly, or a regional institution until 1979, by which time the problem was too deeply ingrained to be amenable to remedial action. Furthermore, argues Fennell, the Gaeltacht was not adequately defined for more than 30 years.

When it was defined in 1956, it included considerable English-speaking areas. By the early 'eighties the greater part of this Official Gaeltacht was English-speaking, still part of what had to be saved.

The Bord na Gaeilge, amongst other agencies, recognise the problems posed by creeping anglicization. In a major policy review document it cites the principle anglicizing influences operating in the Gaeltacht:

1. the daily impact of a television service transmitting perhaps 95% of its programme content in English;
2. the extent to which central and local government agencies still conduct their business in the Gaeltacht through English (thereby diminishing the standing of Irish and conveying the impression of a lack of policy at central government level for its enhancement);
3. the undermining of Irish as the community language of the Gaeltacht by the gradual influx of English speaking residents;
5. certain inadequacies in the present educational arrangements;
6. the extent to which young people in the Gaeltacht have had to rely on commercial entertainment in English. [45]

Industrialization and anglicization need not necessarily induce a total language shift from Irish to English. Despite the overall trend to the opposite, some areas which were predominantly English speaking ten years ago are now Irish speaking.[46] The recent census data (1981) indicates a marked increase in the total number of Irish speakers over the past decade, frm 789,429 (1971) to 1,108,312 (1981), constituting some 31.6% of the Irish population of 3,226,467 aged three and over. Within the Gaeltacht the numbers of Irish speakers rose from 55,440 (1971) to

58,026 (1981) (see table 2). But the numbers of non-Irish speakers also rose from 11,400 (1971) to 16,974 (1981) a figure neglected by many analysts of the language situation.

Table 3 indicates the age distribution of the Gaeltacht population. It is evident that the younger age groups show a preponderance of Irish over non-Irish speakers that must bode well for the future. But we should look beyond the aggregate data, and consider both the overall Irish situation and the structural preconditions of Irish maintenance in the Gaeltacht.

Figures 3 and 4 show the number and percentage of Irish speakers by county 1961-1981. It is evident that the Dublin hinterland dominates the numerical distribution of Irish speakers,although there remain substantial thresholds of Irish speakers within the Gaeltacht. This pattern is confirmed if we scan the percentage of Irish speakers by county,(figure 4) where small,but significant elements of growth are identified in most counties,but particularly in Waterford,Meath,Cork and Kerry. However, within the traditional core areas of the west, i.e. Donegal,Galway and Mayo, the pattern is not so encouraging. I have discussed the details of the 1961-1981 census results elsewhere and do not wish to elaborate upon the data here.[47] Of more critical interest than mere aggregate totals of potential Irish speakers for our present concern is the actual practice of speaking Irish in the several employment contexts of the Gaeltacht. A recent survey by Irish geographers indicated that many native Irish speakers within Gaeltacht industries were employing English as their prime language of communication, and they suggested that without a positive language strategy,economic development alone would not restore the language as a natural medium for discourse in these areas.[48] Clearly industrialization per se, they argue,does not necessarily conduce to language decline, but without positive discrimination to redress such forces it is likely so to do. A key practical question as to the appropriate spatial dimension for language policy remains an acute concern.

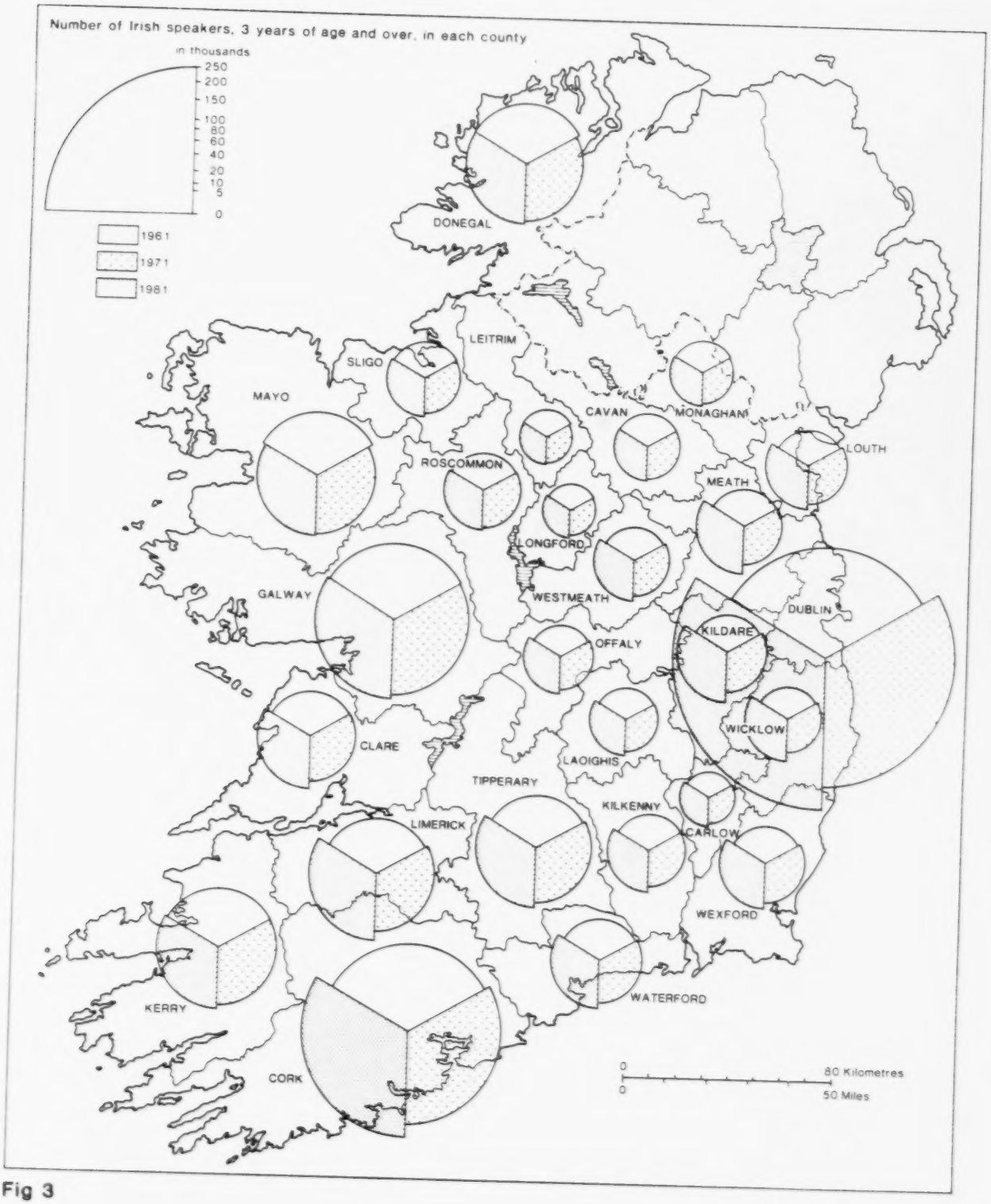
Number of Irish speakers, 3 years of age and over, in each county
in thousands
250
200
150
100
80
60
40
20
10
5
0
1961
1971
1981
DONEGAL
LEITRIM
SLIGO
MAYO
CAVAN
MONAGHAN
LOUTH
ROSCOMMON
MEATH
LONGFORD
WESTMEATH
GALWAY
DUBLIN
KILDARE
OFFALY
WICKLOW
CLARE
LAOIGHIS
TIPPERARY
KILKENNY
CARLOW
LIMERICK
WEXFORD
WATERFORD
KERRY
CORK
0
80 Kilometres
0
50 Miles

Fig 3

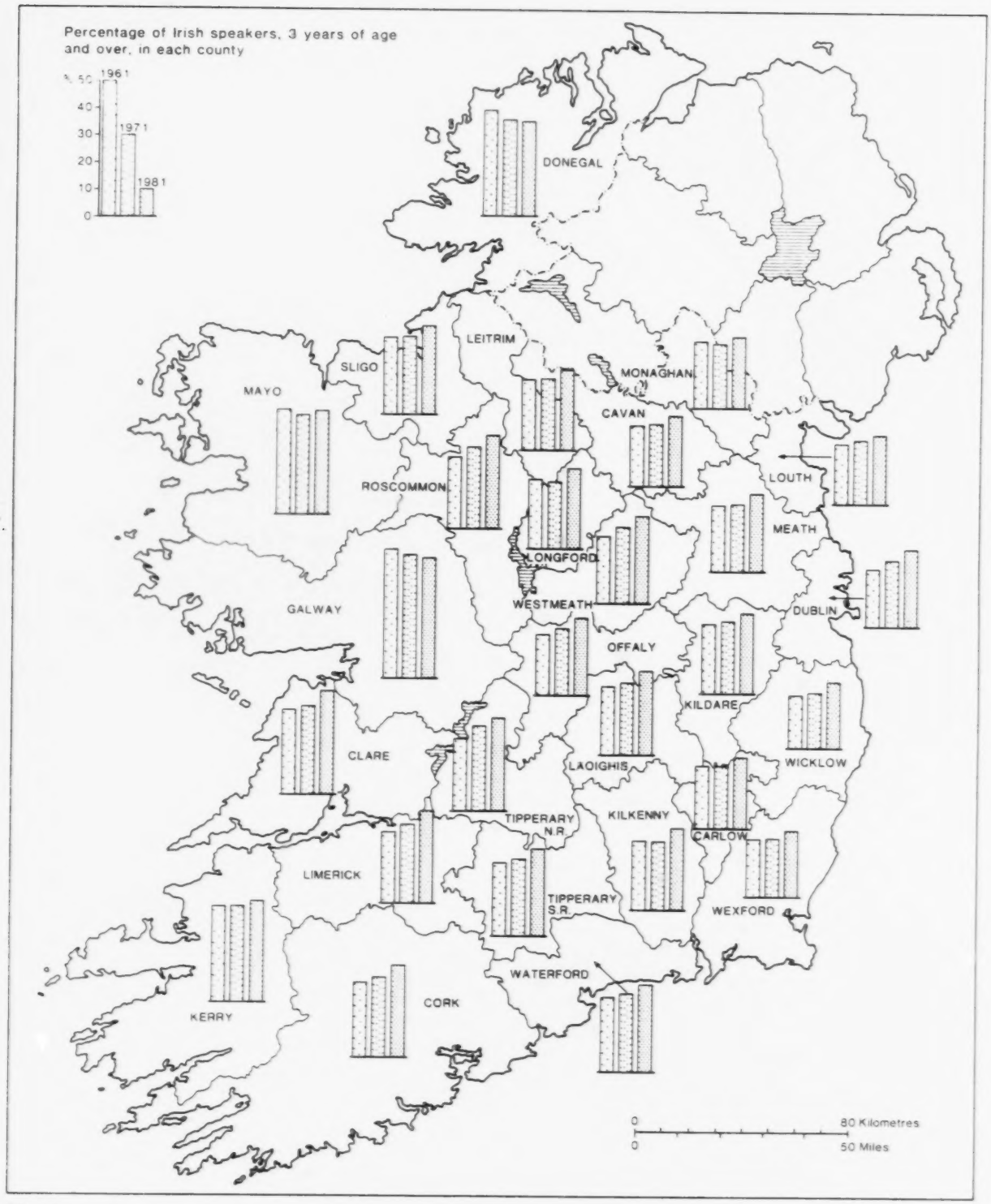
Percentage of Irish speakers, 3 years of age and over, in each county
%
50
40
30
20
10
0
1961
1971
1981
DONEGAL
LEITRIM
SLIGO
MAYO
MONAGHAN
CAVAN
ROSCOMMON
LOUTH
MEATH
LONGFORD
WESTMEATH
GALWAY
DUBLIN
OFFALY
KILDARE
CLARE
LAOIGHIS
WICKLOW
TIPPERARY N.R.
KILKENNY
CARLOW
LIMERICK
TIPPERARY S.R.
WEXFORD
WATERFORD
CORK
KERRY
0
80 Kilometres
0
50 Miles

Fig 4

A fundamental problem concerned the efficacy of a formal or a functional organization of state territory, a traditional problem of regional planning.[49] Each of the state agencies, charged with the responsibility of regenerating the Gaeltacht, operated in any given area largely independent of other bodies, such that the Gaeltacht areas were fragmented by multifarious administrative boundaries which attached different parts of them to adjacent English speaking districts. This spatial fragmentation led to administrative inefficency and the subordination of the minority Gaeltacht problem to the wider departmental concerns of Government agencies. The ability of Údarás na Gaeltachta to initiate, coordinate and monitor activities in the areas must prove a major improvement in the execution of policy forthe Gaeltacht .

State education policies also contributed to the general socio-linguistic decline. Despite recognising the special features of Gaeltacht social geography, school catchment areas continue to combine Gaeltacht and non-Gaeltacht districts. We have a situation where children attending Irish-medium schools in the Gaeltacht, from non-Irish speaking homes, results in the under-emphasis of Irish as the primary medium of insturction. Conversely Irish speaking children attend English-medium schools outside the Gaeltacht. In such a geolinguistic milieu English tends to predominate and the official primacy of Irish gives way to the unofficial, but instrumental primacy of English. Edwards reports that "now, most parents in the Gaeltacht have decided to bring up their children in English, a process reminiscent of the nation-wide shift a century or more ago. It goes without saying that this poses the gravest possible risk for the maintenance of Irish in its naturally-spoken forms".[50]

Critics claim that the content of Irish-medium teaching also has impoverishing effects on the quality of Irish in the Gaeltacht, because the curriculum reflected the national standardization of education. In the teaching of Irish language and literature, for example, it was common for Gaeltacht pupils to study a course in Irish designed for second-language learners. A lack of a firm educational foundation in Irish not only militates against the general survival of the language, but also limits the instrumental motivation for learning the language. It reduces the practical necessity of insisting on fluency in Irish as a prerequisite to employment in most Údarás financed companies. A vicious circle of redundancy and irrelevancy for the language ensues, accelerating the general pattern of socio-cultural erosion.

However, not all is gloom and doom on the language front. Ever since the publication of the Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research Report in 1975 researchers have sought to analyse the various reasons why Irish has not 'taken off' as a revised language.[51] Attitudes to English vis à vis those to Irish are, of course, paramount, reflecting both the attraction (power) and ubiquity of English in modern Irish history. The education system itself though is fraught with difficulties if one compares it with the spectacular success of the Welsh revival.[52] The reasons for the inability of the education system to institute Irish as a high status popular medium of communication are complex and need not be discussed in detail here;[53]

except to highlight Edward's point that given the very special nature of Irish as an official language of the state, it is acutely disappointing to have to admit the relative failure of the language revival : especially when one can no longer blame the 'occupying forces' but accept that the "mass of the Irish people were more or less active contributors to the spread of English for pragmatic reasons brought into being by longstanding historical forces."[54]

Concluding Remarks

Substantial improvements in the economic future of the Gaeltacht must be tempered by modest expectations of language survival in the region. Several of the weaknesses identified herein are being addressed by both government agencies and other organizations, and it should be evident that both sources of encouragement have often complementary effects upon language choice. However, let me end on a note of caution. Several commentators from within the language minorities of Western Europe have expressed severe reservations about the nature of formal language planning,especially as such planning is often deemed to be on behalf of the "improvement and development" of the minority. There may be a strong case for arguing that geolinguistic research should shift its attention away from the examination of census data and employment patterns, in isolation,so to speak, of government and multinational corporation activity. It might rather seek to supplement such valuable empirical information as has already been gleaned with a wider discussion of the role of the state, the community and the individual in terms of their respective legitimate expectations and rights.For without specifying this complex relationship our spatial patterns remain void of human dynamism and social conflict.

Footnotes

1. I wish to thank the following for their comments on the chapter which proved very helpful, Desmond Fennell, John Edwards, Michael Keane. I also wish to thank Mrs. P. Thornberry of the Census of Population Division, Central Statistics Office, Dublin and Officers of the Údarás na Gaeltachta and the Board na Gaeilge for providing me with data. Finally I thank Mrs. Jane Williams, Cartographer at North Staffordshire Polytechnic for drawing the maps and diagrams.

2. See Howard Giles and Bernard Saint-Jacques (eds.) Language and Ethnic Relations (Oxford, 1979); Raymond Williams, Culture (London, 1981).

3. For discussion of the 'diffusion' perspective in state-formation see Michael Hechter, Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966 (London, 1975); A. D. Smith, The Ethnic Revival, (Cambridge, 1981) and a somewhat looser treatment in Erik Allardt, Implications of the Ethnic Revival in Modern Industrialised Society, (Helsinki, Commentationes Scientiarium Socialium, 1979). John Edwards has pointed out that a combination of the diffusion and internal-colonial models seems appropriate because the diffusion model explains language decline more adequately than the internal-colonial version. Also he points to the neglect of the important process of language shift in theories couched in internal-colonial terms.

4. J. E. S. Hayward and R. N. Berki (eds.) State and Society in Contemporary Europe (Oxford, 1979); Salvador Giner and Scotford Archer (eds.), Contemporary Europe : Social Structures and Cultural Patterns (London, 1978); Mark Blacksell, Post-War Europe : A Political Geography (London, 1981).

5. Colin H. Williams (ed.) National Separatism (Cardiff and Vancouver, 1982); Colin H. Williams, "Ethnic Separatism in Western Europe", Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, vol. 71, no.3 (1980), pp. 142-58.

6. This is the major economic/political grievance of a number of minority separatist movements e.g. Plaid Cymru in Wales, the Volksunie in Belgium, Süd Tiroler Volks Partei in Italy's Alto Adige region, Action pour la renaissance de la Corse in Corsica, Esquerra Democratica and Llige in Catalonia and Euzkadi Ta Axkausana in the Basque country of the Spanish state. See J. Krejci and V. Velimsky, Ethnic and Political Nations in Europe, (London, 1981) : S. Rokkan and D. W. Urwin, (eds.) The Politics of Territorial Identity, (London, 1982). See also F. L. Shiels (eds.) Ethnic Separatism and World Politics, (Lanham, MD, 1984).

7. I recognise that I am oversimplifying the issues here. For a conceptual critique of what autonomy implies see John. R. Wood, "Secession : A Comparative Analytical Framework", Canadian Journal of Political Science, vol. 14, no.1 (March, 1981), pp. 107-34.

For a discussion of the historic development of these claims to autonomy see Andrew Orridge and Colin H. Williams, "Autonomist Nationalism : A Theoretical Framework for Spatial Variations in its Genesis and Development," Political Geography Quarterly, vol. 1, no. 1 (1982), pp. 19-39.

8. R. Mitchinson (ed.), The Roots of Nationalism (Edinburgh, 1980). For details of Irish history see A. C. Hepburn. The Conflict of Nationality in Modern Ireland (London, 1980); and Bernard Porter, The Lion's Share (London, 1975); D. Boyce, "Separatism and the Irish National Tradition;" in C. H. Williams (ed.), op. cit. pp. 75-103.

9. See the government sponsored studies on the influence of modernization on the preservation of the Irish language i.e. Report of Commission of Inquiry into the Preservation of the Gaeltacht (Dublin : Stationery Office, 1976); Report of Commission on the Restoration of the Irish Language (Dublin : Stationery Office, 1964); Report of Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research (Dublin : Stationery Office, 1976).

10. D. O'Neil "Irish Cultural Revitalization", Plural Societies, vol. 14, no. 1/2 (Spring/Summer, 1983) p.6.

11. B. Weinstein, The Civic Tongue (New York, 1983), p.42

12. For a good discussion of the relationship between the Irish and English languages see J. Edwards, "Irish and English in Ireland" in P. Trudgill (ed.) Language in the British Isles, pp. 480-99, (Cambridge, 1984); for a complementary historical account of the Irish language see G. Price's, The Languages of Britain (London, 1984)

13. Padraig O'Riagain, "Regional Planning in Irish Bilingual Areas", Cambria, vol. 5 no. 2 (1978), pp. 182-87

14. The data, derived from official census reports, are discussed in J. Coakley, "Self-Government for Gaelic Ireland : The Development of State Language Policy," Europa Ethnica, vol. 37, no. 3 (1980), pp. 114-24, and in a more provocative manner by D. Fennell, "Can a Shrinking Linguistic Minority be Saved? Lessons from the Irish Experience" in E. Haugen et. al. (eds.) Minority Languages Today, (Edinburgh, 1981) pp. 32-39.

15. For the comparative situation in Scotland and Wales see Kenneth MacKinnon, Language, Education and Social Processes in a Gaelic Community (London, 1977); and Glyn Williams, (ed.) Social and Cultural Change in Contemporary Wales (London, 1978); C. H. Williams, "Language Contact and Language Change in Wales", Welsh History Review, vol.10 no.2 (1980), pp.207-38. V. E. Durkacz, The Decline of the Celtic Languages (Edinburgh, 1983); and Trudgill and Price, op. cit. footnote 12.

16. There is an additional reason for interpreting census results cautiously. Michael Keane has pointed out to me that there may be good economic reasons for being 'officially able' to speak Irish, for thereby one qualifies for additional government grants and subsidies.

17. John Coakley, "Self-Government for Gaelic Ireland : The Development of State Language Policy," Europa Ethnica, vol. 37, no. 3 (1980), pp. 144-24; here again Keane would add an economic incentive to the

emotional attachment to the language cited by Coakley. The details are given by Fennell op. cit. p 33, "for every child of a Gaeltacht family who was certified by the school inspector to be Irish-speaking, a grant, first of £2, later of £10, was paid to the parents and qualification for these grants by the children of a family was made the qualifying criterion for various other benefits: for example, special house-building grants, scholarships to third-level education reserved for Gaeltacht children, and recognition of the family in question as a suitable family to lodge students attending summer language colleges in the Gaeltacht."

18. See Fennell, ibid. pp. 35-36 and also Desmond Fennell, "The Last Days fo the Gaeltacht, "The Irish Times, 3/6/1980 and ibid. "Why the Gaeltacht wasn't saved?" The Irish Times, 4/6/1980.

19. J. Edwards, op. cit. p. 486

20. For details of the operation of Gaeltarra Eireann see the special series of Gaeltarra Information Leaflets e.g. No. 1, The Gaeltacht Areas, No. 2, Selected Investment from Overseas, No. 6, Transport, Services and Communications and No. 7, Incentives Towards Establishing Industry in the Gaeltacht (Gaillimh : Na Forbacha, 1976)

21. P. Cooke, "Dependency, Supply Factors and Uneven Development in Wales and Other Problem Regions", Regional Studies, vol. 16, no. 3 pp. 211-27.

22. Cooke's description is amplified in a remarkable discussion of social relations and development in his Theories of Planning and Spatial Development (London, 1983).

23. The other forms of dependent development he describes are a) former colonial enclaves, where international concerns, often operating through local affliates, control natural resource exploitation; b) industrial platforms, regions of low labour cost located close to large export markets and c) new consumer markets susceptible to foreign penetration: Cooke, 1982, pp. 212-3 op. cit. footnote 21. An additional perspective applied to Ireland is that she faces severe constraints precisely because of the late timing of industrialization. O'Malley, for example, suggests that in view of the competitive advantages of established industrial producers, indigenous industries would tend tobe limited to sectors using simple, or standardized technologies, and having characteristics such as labour intensity, local craft intensity, low value added to local primary resources, low value/bulk ratio and clear advantages arising from sustained close contact with a local market. The fact that Irish enterprises have been successful in these sectors led to the particular choice of industry in the Gaeltacht, but Irish private industry is severely limited to these sectors and has little potential for diversification. See Eoin O'Malley, "Dependency and the Experience of Industry in the Republic of Ireland", Bulletin of the Institute of Development Studies, vol. 12 no. 1 (1980) pp. 42-47. Given this analysis of Ireland as a dependent periphery within the modern world-system, there seems little logic in expecting industry to perform better in the Gaeltacht, the periphery within the periphery.

24. C. MacGabhann, "Industrial Development in the Gaeltacht". Paper given at the Conference on Regional Development and Language Planning, Galway, March 1978.

25. MacGabhann reminds us that these constraints were imperative, especially in view of the impending implementation of the Anglo-Irish free trade agreement.

26. For details of these activities and the range of incentives introduced to attract new industry and upgrade the infra-structure (telex, telephones, roads, sewage pipes, electricity etc) see MacGabhann, op. cit.

27. MacGabhann ibid, is the authoritative source on the activities of Gaeltarra in this period. The data reported in this section comes from his 1978 paper, footnote 24.

28. Gaeltarra's company operations are of two types according to MacGabhann. First, 25 subsidary companies, covering such activities as horticulture, hotels, textiles and fish-farming. These are scattered geographically and the Board's chief activity is one of supervision seeking to ensure the survival of flagging industries. A second type involves some 25 associated companies in electronics, food processing and an American data processing company.

29. ibid. The existing incentive scheme's chief disadvantage was the government's obligation to take shares in assisted companies. It was argued that as healthy companies do not need state subventures, the policy was attracting weaker companies with only marginal profits.

30. Critics claimed the scheme was perceived as a "state give-away organization", increasing the dependancy mentality amongst the

local populus and deterring the more commercially-minded enterpreneurs from accepting Gaeltarra as a partner.

31. Recent work has high lighted the efficacy of Irish attempts to offset regional unemployment by attracting multi-national enterprises. Indeed the evidence presented by P. N. O'Farrell suggests that foreign enterprises - far from exacerbating regional disequilibria - have been marginally more likely than Irish ones to locate in Development Areas. For elaboration see P. N. O'Farrell, "Multinational Enterprises and Regional Development : Irish Evidence", Regional Studies, vol. 14 (1980), pp. 141-50.

32. Fennell, op. cit. footnote 18.

33. Recent doubts have been expressed as to the Irish economy's ability to diversify sufficiently to allow surplus capital and government subsidy to develop the Gaeltacht. Some, such as D. C. Perrons, argue that the fragmented units of production established largely in a random manner by the Industrial Development Authority have succeeded in attracting a large number of overseas investors. Indeed it is the very 'peripherality' of the country in the world division of labour which has proved to be attractive to the foreign branch plants. Labour surplus is a definite advantage, labour costs are more problematical as Stanton and Paine make clear. However, Perrons insists that in comparison with other European countries, Ireland offers significant advantages to these branch plant operators. They include

a free access to the E.E.C., government incentives with a fair degree of freedom of location for the prospective operator, a widely developed industrial and social infrastructure, in particular good educational levels, a young fecund population and a stable political system. See D. C. Perrons, "The Role of Ireland in the New International Division of Labour, "Regional Studies, vol. 15 no. 2 (1981), pp. 81-100; for a discussion on labour costs see R. Stanton, "Investment and host-country politics : the Irish case", in Seers, D. Schaffer, B. and Kiljunen, M-L. (eds.), Underdeveloped Europe, (Brighton, 1979), pp. 103-24; see also S. Paine, "Replacement of the West European migrant labour system by investment in the European periphery", in ibid., Underdeveloped Europe, pp. 65-96.

34. "Údarás na Gaeltachta - Attracting Lame Ducks", Irish Business, March 1981, pp. 2-9. In the two year period 1979-1981 fifteen companies with a combined investment of £9.3 million were closed down with a loss of 461 jobs. I am grateful to Desmond Fennell for bringing this critique to my attention.

35. Clearly many entrepreneurs with potentially profit-making projects sought finance elsewhere rather than sell part of their company, ibid pp.2-9.

36. Though the £10,000 grant rule was relaxed on a number of occasions it took the government thirteen years and over twenty-six disasters to change the ruling completely. The Údarás is no longer compelled to take an equity stake and now judges projects solely on their ability to survive in a competitive environment.

This could be the death knell for many of the Údarás's subsidiary and associated companies, op. cit. pp. 2-9.

37. M. J. Keane, M. Cawley and M. O'Cinnéide, "Industrial Development in Gaeltacht Areas : The Work of Údarás na Gaeltachta", Cambria, vol. 10, no. 1 (1983), pp. 47-60.

38. ibid. p.57. The authors do note that in the Donegal Gaeltacht eight failures occurred, 1979-1981, with a total investment of £9m written off on these ventures, representing 58% of the total investment for the period of £15.5m: p. 50. For a review of the 'cost per job' argument see M. J. Keane, "Can we afford the Gaeltacht? An Analysis of Job Creation Costs", mimeo, Department of Economics, University College Galway, April 1984.

39. P. N. O'Farrell andR. Crouchley, "Industrial Closure in Ireland 1973-81: Analysis and Implications", Regional Studies, vol. 17 no. 6 (1983), pp. 411-27.

40. P. N. O'Farrell and R. Crouchley, "An Industrial and Spatial Analysis of New Firm Formation in Ireland", Regional Studies, vol. 18, no. 3 (1984) pp. 221-36.

41. Since the 1979 Act, the Board of Údarás na Gaeltachta (The Gaeltacht Authority) replaced the old Gaeltarra Eireann. Mr. Joe Maguire of Údarás has supplied me with the following key developments in the activities of the Board. Údarás was established on the 1st of January 1980, unlike the Gaeltarra Eireann, the majority of its members are elected by the Gaeltacht population using the proportional representation system.

It may acquire additional powers to those set out in the Act. The Údarás is a non-management Board, comprising of 13 part-time members. Six members including- the Chairman, are appointed by the Minster for the Gaeltacht, and seven are elected, two for the Donegal area, one for Mayo, two for Galway and Meath, and two for Kerry/Cork/Waterford. All but one of these seven were, in the event, party nominees of the main political parties.

42. D. Fennell, op. cit. footnote 14, p.36.

43. ibid. p. 35.

44. It must also be noted, that unlike the Welsh situation, the people of the Gaeltacht did not mobilise themselves in this period. To blame the Irish state alone for this impasse is a little harsh in my view. See C. H. Williams, "Non-violence and the development of the Welsh Language Society", Welsh History Review, vol. 8, no. 4. (1977), pp. 426-55.

45. Bord na Gaeilge, Action Plan for Irish, 1983-1986, (Dublin, 1983), p. 7.

46. This is the claim made by Frank Flynn, Chief Executive of Údarás na Gaeltachta in an address to the German-Ireland Chamber of Commerce, 27th January 1983.

47. Consideration of the geography of the Irish language is made in a text on geolinguistics which I am preparing for publication. Interested readers might like to write to me for details.

48. M.S.O'Cinneide, M.Keane and M.Cawley, "Industrialization and Linguistic Change among Gaelic-Speaking Communities in the West of Ireland," Language Planning and Language Problems, vol 9, I, Spring,I985,pp. 3-I6.

49. On this see the paper by Don Cartwright,"Bilingual Districts : the elusive territorial component in Canada's Official Language Act," Discussion Papers in Geolinguistics,no I,I980.

50. J. Edwards, "Irish: Planning and Preservation", Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, vol. 5, nos 3 and 4, (1984), p. 271.

51. Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research. Government Stationery Office (Dublin, 1975).

52. See the following D. G. Edwards, "Welsh-Medium Education", Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, vol. 5, nos. 3 and 4, (1984) pp. 249-57; H.M.S.O. Welsh in the Secondary Schools of Wales, The Welsh Office (Cardiff, 1983); W. Bellin,"Welsh and English in Wales," In P. Trudgill (ed.), Language in the British Isles (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 449-79.

53. A variety of factors contribute to the low actual usage of Irish including i) the overburdening of the school system as the main agency of language reproduction; 2) the insufficient training of teachers in all subjects, many of whom resented being the 'whipping boys' for the failure of the revival; 3) lack of continuity and consistency in teaching methods from primary to secondary school levels; 4) the failure to prepare adequate Irish-medium materials both for school use and for use in the wider community e.g. popular magazines, television and radio provision. For a very good

discussion of the often emotive and politicized role of education see J. Edwards,"Irish and English in Ireland"in P. Trudgill (ed.) Language in the British Isles (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 480-98.

54. Edwards, ibid, p.494; whose quotes Brook's view that the Irish committed suicide rather than having been murdered.